THE ANDHRA UNIVERSITY BILL.

- * The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. Patro:—" Mr. President, I beg to move that item No. IX on the Agenda (regarding Andhra University Bill) may be taken up next."
 - * The hon. Sir C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR :--" I second it."

The motion was put and carried.

*The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. Patro:—"Mr. President, Sir, I beg leave to introduce the Andhra University Bill. The Statement of Objects and Reasons accompanying the Bill sets forth the necessity for the Andhra University. I make only a few remarks in placing the motion before the House.

"The claim of the Andhra districts to have a university of their own is a long-standing one. The Senate of the Madras University has given the opinion that the Andhra University should be the first of the new anticipated universities in this Presidency. The Andhra districts represent a definite linguistic and cultural unit, and for this reason are specially suitable for a separation of their colleges from the existing Madras University. The Madras University Act, 1923, was framed so as to permit of the ultimate development of new universities at various centres in the Presidency, but the Native States in South India have been the first to realize the necessity for separate universities. The Mysore University was founded in the year 1918. Recently also the Travancore Government have published the report of the Travancore University Committee. Doubts may arise whether the new universities maintain in their courses and examinations standards at least as high as those of the older institutions. But the multiplication of new university centres must be wholly in the interests of higher standards of education and research in India. One essential reason for the establishment of the Andhra University is that, up to the present, there have been in the Telugu districts no colleges either providing honours courses or conducting research work. It is clearly time that better opportunity for bonours and post-graduate study should be given to the students residing in the Telugu country. The institution of an Andhra University will give the necessary stimulus to advanced courses of study and research work and develop a more utilitarian or practical aspect of education generally.

"It is often postulated that the ideal type of university which can best foster high scholarship and at the same time develop character is the unitary type. All the recent developments and reforms in university education in India and elsewhere have tended to reduce the number and change the character of affiliating universities and to establish unitary and residential universities. The Andhra University Committee also expressed the opinion that the ideal to be aimed at was a unitary teaching university. A single unitary university for the whole of the Telugu districts is, however, not practicable. It is therefore proposed to arrive as near to the ideal as possible by ercating certain centres of concentration which, while affording most of the facilities of unitary universities, will retain the affiliating character of the Madras University. The other reasons for this concentration at certain centres are set forth in the Statement of Objects and Reasons attached to the Bill. I believe that it is necessary to lay greater stress than has been laid in the past on the corporate life of a university with all its

attendant students' social activities. What is required for the Telugu students entering the new university is not merely the reduplication of courses and examinations but 'University life' which can only be obtained by the intimate and constant association of students with students and students with teachers and by the many-sided activities of an academic community which a unitary and residential university represents. Education imparted at isolated affiliated colleges is apt to make the examination dominate the whole educational course. The extent of the country which is roughly 83,000 square miles renders a single unitary Telugu university impracticable A scheme is therefore framed which will provide at present for the concentration of firstgrade colleges in the Telugu country and which will at the same time aim at the ultimate development of these centres into separate units. This will ensure the coming together in large numbers of students and teachers and will give an opportunity for a real corporate and residential university life to develop, if not at one centre at least in two or three centres in the Andhra Desa. This view has been emphasized in the Bill by an insistence on the residential system at all centres and by the provision for the establishment of students' unions.

"But the special feature of the Andhra University scheme which explains as it were the position of the new university in relation to the economic and industrial life of the Telugu districts is a recognition of the need for a new correlation between the work of a provincial university and the industries of the country. While the older universities both in Europe and in India have been content to aim at high scholarship in literary and scientific subjects, the new universities in the west have been turning their attention towards specialization in various branches of technology. For example, the Universities of Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Liverpool and Glasgow have while retaining the ordinary university courses of study, specialised in particular branches of technology which bear a direct relationship to the special industries established in the districts adjacent to them. The need for the new Andhra University to set an example of what can be done by means of technical colleges to keep university education directly in touch with the industrial organization of a country has been recognized by the Government and all those who have been instrumental in promoting the scheme for the new university. This point was amplified at the Andhra University Conference held at Vizagapatam on the 22nd November 1922. One reason above all others for our belief in the immediate necessity for the establishment of technical and technological colleges is that taking a long view and looking ahead in the development of Indian industries and commerce, we believe that in the near future rapid progress of industrial concerns in India must take place and consequently the necessity for Indian skilled labour. In this respect the Andhra districts are favourably situated. Vizagapatam is developing into one of the foremest ports of India and also into a prominent railway centre. The opening up of the Raipur-Vizagapatam railway line will stimulate to an almost unknown extent the industries of the districts adjoining the Telugu country. There is already in the Telugu country a considerable mining industry. Paper, tanning and textile industries have just begun to work. There is agricultural and forest development and not a little coastal trade. Two important railways with big schemes for extension meet in the Telugu country. From the above it must be obvious that what has been done in the minor universities of England and what in a small

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way is being done at Lucknow, Bombay and at the Sibpur college of the Calcutta University can profitably be done in the Andhra University. It will therefore be necessary gradually to provide in the new University in addition to the existing arts and professional courses, instruction in mining, engineering, marine engineering, agriculture, electricity, leather chemistry and textile courses. It is possible that some of the aided institutions may in the future give instruction in certain technological courses but the University or the Government shall at first have to be responsible for developing these institutions which will provide instruction in some of these subjects. While it is obviously recognised that university education cannot and should not be purely utilitarian, the growing evil of unemployment amongst educated Indians demands that every effort should be made to see that the Indian Universities are more and more placed in a position to prepare students for earning livelihoods in new channels of occupation. These reasons in brief have led us to regard the institution of new technical courses as a primary necessity and the Andhra University Bill provides for the establishment of colleges specially equipped on the technical side.

"No provincial Government in India at the present time which is proposing a scheme for higher education can afford to leave out of account the grave problem of unemployment amongst the educated. This fact alone will be sufficient reason for determining that, whatever capital expenditure is going to be incurred on the new university, technical education should have the first claim on the available finances. The schedule accompanying the Bill lays down that the Academic Conneil shall constitute amongst other faculties, faculties of commerce, engineering, technology and agriculture; and we believe that if the courses of instruction established under the guidance of these faculties are framed so as to have a direct relationship to the existing industries in the country and the development of new commercial concerns, the Andhra University will play no small part in solving the acute problem of unemployment. The proposed Engineering College, for example, will specialize, it is to be hoped, in what may be termed railway engineering, including electricity, and in mining and marine engineering. Naturally, before this college is established and equipped, expert opinion will be obtained from railway, industrial and shipping authorities. No scheme however of University technical education can to-day be complete without an Agricultural faculty and it will be the aim both of the Andhra University and of the other educational institutions attached to the University to persuade parents, and the public generally, that the unemployment problem can never satisfactorily be solved until educated Indian youths return to the land. Fifty per cent of the total population of this presidency are classified as those whose means of subsistence are derived from landholders and tenant farmers, whereas only 2 per cent are classified as those whose means of subsistence are derived from public administration, the professions and the liberal arts. The Calcutta University is, at present, considering the adoption of a scheme for educational agricultural colonies; and while we may watch that scheme with interest we are at least convinced that a great extension of agricultural education, which will tend to send young men back to the land, is absolutely necessary at the present time. It is no doubt disappointing to read in the reports that while the agricultural colleges have steadily increased in popularity, the number of graduates who now prefer to go back to land and manage their own farms is not increasing and the course is not yet able to attract rea

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sons of the land and offers more aspirants to Government service; the demand for agricultural education for its own sake must be created and fostered.

"All those who favour the establishment of an Andhra University believe that the University will herald a rapid development in the study of the Telugu language and literature and in the use of the vernacular as the medium of instruction. It is too early to anticipate how soon the new University will adopt, as undoubtedly other Universities in India shortly will, the vernacular as the medium of instruction at least up to the matriculation stage; but the provisions of the Bill indicate that we believe all encouragement should be given by the University to the study of the vernacular and to the use of the vernacular as far as possible as the medium of instruction. It may be said that an improvement in the study of the vernacular means improvement in the knowledge of English. For those who know the condition of affairs in the Madras University can have very little doubt that students who have at school been relieved of the burden of learning all subjects through the medium of English will, with English as compulsory second language, learn to speak and write better and more grammatical English than the present day students. The Bill, however, gives the University power to institute a publication bureau, which will serve as a very necessary preliminary to the use of the vernacular as the medium of instruction and examination and will investigate the possibility of the production of the required vernacular text-books.

"The constitution of the new University is modelled on the democratic constitution of the Madras University. But the distinction between the constituent colleges and affiliated colleges has been removed and no provision in consequence has been made for thevestablishment of a Council of Affiliated Colleges. All colleges in the University will be of equal status as affiliated colleges. There will, therefore, be no room for the existence of rivalries and jealousies between the various classes of colleges within the University. No scheme for a new university is going to be an improvement on existing conditions unless it is recognized that good education at college can only be imparted by the personal contact of the professor with the pupil. The college professors are to-day overworked. There is far too much lecturing work assigned to each member of the staff. Students are kept almost for five hours under the supervision of the lecturer and the value of the professor or tutor as an educationist is very much minimised. The lecturer or the professor should have ample leisure to meet and know the students individually and be able to guide and inspire them. If there is proper co-operation between the colleges at any one centre whereby students from several colleges attend the lectures and do laboratory work at one college, there will be time and leisure for the lecturers to be in closer touch with the students. It is never too much to emphasize again on the importance of the tutorial work along with class work and it is hoped that the Andhra University will be in a position to realize this.

"Briefly the aims of the new University are to bring advanced courses and research work within easy reach of the students of the Andhra districts, to create a corporate university life, at the new university centres which will give a hall-mark of character and good citizenship to the students leaving the colleges of the Andhra University, to divert to some extent

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the stream of young men who in the past could only hope to enter Government service, the legal and the teaching professions, into the growing channels of occupation in the industries of the country, and to so relate the life and working of the University to the conditions and the needs of the districts which it serves that no scholar may feel either that he is denied the fullest opportunities for high scholarship or a chance of serving his country in some recognized and definite capacity however humble.

"I beg to move that the Bill be read in Council."

The hon. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar seconded the motion.

* Mr. P. Siva Rao: - "Mr. President, Sir, the proposed Bill presents a very bold and ambitious programme. It captures one's 1 p.m. fancy and it also strikes one's imagination. I may say, in fairness to the hon. the Minister for Education, it is full of welcome features. I may say also that it is very idealistic, very high-pitched in its aims; only, the hon, the Minister, while propounding this grand scheme, did not for a moment feel that he had the limitations of finance, time and circumstance before him. As I said, the Bill presents very many good features. One of the features is that it provides for a higher technological institution at some centre, not notified for the present. It also provides for publication bureaus, which is a right step in the right direction as a preliminary to the prescription of text-books in the vernaculars. It also provides for student unions controlled and managed out of the University funds. It provides for employment bureaus which also supply a very bad want in the country. Student unions have already been adverted to as one of the very many welcome features of the Bill

"Now, Sir, while dilating upon the very many welcome features, I may say that it also provides for the opening of certain university centres at certain specified places in the Presidency. Three places have been specified—Vizagapatam, Rajahmundry and Anantapur. It provides that at those centres only new institutions will be opened or recognized by the University. It provides for unitary residential universities at certain fixed centres. For the present, Sir, it contents itself with being an affiliating university, because it is felt that it is impossible to provide for single unitary residential universities for an area of 87,000 square miles. I take my figures from the hon, the Minister for Education.

"While dwelling on these various features which are very high-flown and ambitious in their nature, I may pause, Sir, to think how the Ceded districts are going to be benefited out of this particular University. In the Statement of Objects and Reasons the hon, the Minister has stated as one of the reasons that the colleges in the Telugu districts are not sufficiently represented in the authorities of the Madras University. In print of this disadvantage, how are the Ceded districts going to fare better after the institution of this University? There is only one college for the present throughout the Ceded districts. If the numerous colleges in the Northern Circars at present do not find adequate representation in the authorities, how could the Ceded districts even after this reform, with only one college in their midst, hope to find adequate representation?

"Now, I come to the other side of the question, re. the electorates—for instance, the municipalities and the district boards—have got special representation by providing two seats for every district board on the condition

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of their paying a contribution of about Rs. 7,500. Our district boards are notoriously poor, and I do not think they can find money to contribute about Rs. 7,500, with the result that they can have no representation whatever. After all, there is a provision for only four representatives. There are numerous colleges in the richer districts of Northern Circars each one of which is expected to return a representative to every one of the authorities provided for in the University Bill, not to speak of the numerous zamindars of the Northern Circars who, we are sure, will endow large donations of lakhs and millions of rupees. Sir, I do not think that by any stretch of imagination on anybody's part can this trifling advantage of sending up representatives be said to be of any great benefit to the Ceded districts. The representatives of the interests of the Ceded districts will be in a hopeless minority in the authorities that are to be provided for in the new University Bill.

"The other reason, Sir, for opening this separate Andhra University is that the executive work of the Madras University is done mostly by the representatives residing at the headquarters. The Telugus have no adequate voice in the affairs of the present Madras University. Now I shall apply the same test to the case of the Ceded districts. The Act, very ominously in my opinion, omits to specify the scat of the University and it is therefore impossible for us to make up our mind one way or the other. The hon, the Minister would have done well to give us some indication at least as to what centre he has pitched upon. The Eill presents a blank cheque in this respect. It is very likely that some day after the passing of this Bill, the hon, the Minister goes and whispers something into the ears of His Excellency the Governor and has the place fixed, probably as Vizagapatam. I may say that he has already in mind the claims of the Vizagapatam district."

* The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. Patro:—"I may say at once that I keep an open mind in the matter, and it is for the Select Committee to decide the question."

Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddi:—"May I ask my hon. Friend whether what he just now said about the necessity for technological study in the university, and Vizagapatam being the best place for such technological study does not lead to that inevitable conclusion?"

* The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. Patro:—"Not at all. The cultural and educational side may be developed at any other centre. That is what I said."

* Mr. P. Siva Rao: - "In his opening speech, the hon. the Minister could not help referring to the manifold merits of Vizagapatam, and in his technological course of studies, marine engineering is going to be one. He has already given out that the Government of India have announced their intention of developing Vizagapatam as a major port. What move appropriate place can be possibly found for starting marine engineering? Already there are a medical school and an engineering school at Vizagapatam and the hon. the Minister has given out that it will be an important centre on the railway line between Raipur and some other place and also that it will afford immense possibilities. The location at Vizagapatam has been sufficiently foreshadowed but not given out in order not to make one suspect it. We, however, believe that Vizagapatam and no other place has been fixed. And though he has kept silent for tactical reasons,—that may no

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doubt be elever tactics,—we are inclined to think that with a view not to set up one district against another or create district jealousies, and to secure the smooth passage of the Bill he has done so; but we, who are residing in other districts, find it immensely difficult to follow him fully to enable us to give our support to this Bill. Unless we know that it is going to be in some central place, we cannot possibly consent to a measure like this.

"Sir, I was going to say that one of the reasons given us for starting this new university was that the representatives mostly resided at Madras, the headquarters. Now, what will happen if Vizagapatam becomes the headquarters? The university work will mostly be done by the representatives sitting at Vizagapatam or residing there. I may give the hon, Members of this House an idea of the distances between Bellary and Madras and Bellary and Vizagapatam. It is 12 hours' run from Bellary to Madras and it is 30 hours' run frem Bellary to Vizagapatam. I know only the time that it will take and not the actual distance in miles. Sir, will this be advantageous to Bellary which has been connected with the Madras University, ever since its institution. Before we make up our mind, before we shift ourselves from our own mother university, we want the hon, the Minister to make out very very strong reasons for asking us to support this Bill.

"Then, Sir, one other reason why the Ceded districts are not at all enthusiastic in this matter is that they gain absolutely nothing. On the other hand, they are the losers, since it is people of the Tamil districts that are now swamping the Ceded districts. The Ceded districts are the most backward, are the most poverty-stricken districts. Somehow, they have not been able to keep on a level with the other districts in the Presidency. My fear is that the Tamilians are threatening to absorb the Ceded districts equally with the people of the Northern Circars. The result will be that they will lose themselves as a distinct entity. I may say that the Ceded districts have for a long time had a common tradition and a common history and they do not want to sever that entity until in the long run, there will come a day when there will be a separate university for the Ceded districts. I do not of course say that that far off divine event will come at once but what are we to do during the interim period?

"I know, Sir, that there are inducements and promises made at the time of the passing of the measure, just to induce the Ceded districts people to consent. There may be started a university college with advanced courses and Honours courses at Anantapur. Even as it is, the Madras University Act of 1923 provides for the opening of University centres. Even under the aegis of the existing Madras University Act, we can have Anantapur as a university centre. I may also mention that the common language, Telugu, is the unit which links up these thirteen or twelve districts together. As regards that, I may say that it should not be the sole test. The real test is the common tradition, common history and common administration and so forth. I do not think the Ceded districts will do well to sever their present connexion merely on the ground of common language. For, on this question of common language, I dare say that the hon. the Minister for Education is aware that Bellary is more Kavarese than Telugu; and I have received numerous wires from the people in the district that at any rate Bellary should be excluded from the operation of this Andhra University. I may also say that it has been declared officially to be a Kanarese district and the plaints and other Government documents are authorized to be filed

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in Kanarese and there is a strong movement in Bellary that the district should be united to the adjoining Kanarese-speaking tracts. I do not know the reasons for such a movement, but for the present, I am here to translate their wishes to you. The latest census figures will disclose to the hon, the Minister for Education that there is a predominance of Kanarese-speaking population in Bellary, and in such a state of things, I do not think this Andhra University can be usefully forced upon them without their consent.

"Now, Sir, I wish to point out one inconsistency between two sections. For instance, the second clause of the first section says 'It shall come into force on such date and in such area as the Local Government may, by notification, appoint 'and then in the third clause it is said 'There shall be constituted in and for the area comprising the present districts of,' etc. It is, after all, left to the option of the Local Government to decide the area. To put it in a nut shell, I claim for the Ceded districts exemption from the operation of this Andhra University and particularly Bellary, until the time comes when a separate university for the Ceded districts will be opened in their midst."

Rao Bahadur T. A. RAMALINGA CHETTIYAR: -- "Mr. President, Sir, I am sorry that I have to damp the enthusiasm that the hon, the Minister has kindled by the ideal picture he has tried to carve before the minds of the hon. Members in this House to a very large extent. No doubt, in his speech, as usual, he has depicted a paradise and whether that para lise is going to result from anything he proposes is a matter which he evidently does not want the members to see. Well, Sir, he claims for his ideal university a number of things that he claimed for the Madras University when he introduced the Bill for the Madras University in the year 1923. I would like you to see what the provisions in this Bill are and if they in any way show any difference from the provisions of the old Madras University-I say old university advisedly, because the present university as constituted under the present Act has a better chance to come up to the expectations of the hon the Minister. But the proposal he now makes in the present Bill places the new Andhra University in a much worse condition than the Madras University under the Act of 1923. Because under the new form of the Madras University there can be some hope or expectation that there will be a teaching and residential character given to the university at least at some later date and that there will be some sort of unitary development even though it is now in a sort of federal form. So, Sir, at least the Madras University is in a sort of mongrel form—a unitary university and a federal university. In the case of the Andhra University there is no such prospect at all. It is going to be a purely affiliating university and the hon. Minister sail that there would be no constituent college. This is a great disadvantage in the scheme. If there are constituent colleges there would be something to be said for it. Here there are different centres to be recognized on account of the fact that there are in those centres colleges at the present moment and the Government are also given power to arrange for the coming into existence of new institutions in new places even after the passing of the Act Thus we have a number of places, probably half a dozen and how in these circumstances is it expected that this Bill would provide for anything better? I for one do not expect any improvement.

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"The hon, the Minister was saying that he has satisfied the desires of the Andhra people by giving them a place and a university where they can send their youngmen without sending them to far-off places. But we heard the hon. Member Mr. Siva Rao tell us that so far as his district was concerned they were very much farther from the probable seat of the new university than they were in respect of Madras, and therefore people will have to come to Madras only."

* Mr. P. Siva Rao:—"I may read a telegram for the information of the Education Minister. This is a telegram from Hospet which says "Pray urge exclusion Bellary from Andhra University scheme. ..."

* Rao Bahadur T. A. RAMALINGA CHETTIVAR :- "I do not at all see the justification for the interruption on the part of the hon, the Minister for Education because I did not say anything about the wishes of the people of Bellary. All that I said was that Bellary and its adjoining districts lie farther away from the probable seat of the contemplated university than from Madras. In spite of the resolution that was so kindly read out to us by the hon, the Minister, I think the position I have taken has not been changed, so far as the argument of territorial propinquity is concerned. It does not apply to all the districts. Prebably it does not apply to most of the districts comprised in the new area. What is it that the Andhra people asked for? Is it this affiliating university? The hon, the Minister in an earlier part of his speech read out a resolution of the Andhra University Committee and what they wanted was a unitary type of university and not this affiliating university. I leave it to my Andhra friends here to see for themselves if what is given to them under this Bill is what they wanted. I for one do not think how it is going to better their position. If anything, their position would be very much worse off. I shall be able to demonstrate how that is going to happen.

"In the first place when the Madras University Act of 1923 was passed we were all thinking that there would be a change very soon, and that there was going to be a millennium. Two years have now elapsed and there is no change. The Government are not able to allot much money. The University too were not able to suggest any improvements; in fact there have been no improvements at all, so far as the outsiders can see. What is going to happen in the case of this University better than the fortunes that attended the Madras University which as I said already is certainly in a better position? As I pointed out, there is provision for a residential university for the latter and therefore I say Madras is in a better position. I ask how much could the Andhra University be given? Is there not going to be a scramble from all the 5 or 6 colleges that are going to be affiliated to the new university? Even for this one University in Madras the Government have not given anything like a necessary amount. In such a state of affairs is it to be supposed that the Government would give large sums to these six

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colleges to be developed into these unitary types of organizations? I think this is only an attempt to give some sort of stone when there is a demand for bread, and nothing more.

"Again there is another point which my Andhra friends will have to deeply consider over. So long as the Madras Presidency continues to be what it is, and there is not going to be an Andhra province separately, the central Government will have to be in Madras. All the persons who will be recruited directly will be recruited in Madras. When there are applications both from pupils trained in the Madras University and trained in the new University to be formed, what are going to be the chances as between the two sets of pupils. Does it require very much imagination to see that the pupils in the headquarters, Madras, will certainly have a better chance than the persons coming from a university located elsewhere? The Madras University has already got a reputation behind it and has established a particular standard. What is the standard of the new university? It will surely take a long time before people would be prepared to accept the standard of the new university as equal to the standard here. These are factors that are to be considered before the House agrees to the arrangement now proposed by the hon, the Minister for Education.

"Again, the hon. the Minister is putting the cart before the horse. What is now done is this. We have got to develop the educational facilities and then we have to form a university Now take the central places which are referred to in this Bill. For instance, let us take Vizagapatam, let us take Rajahmundry, let us take Anantapur. Now, can it be said that any of these places have developed in such a way that they may be considered fit for recognition as university centres? The old Act gives room to both the Government and the university authorities to recognize particular centres as university centres and develop them on If these are developed and if they come to a particular standard then it would be time to consider the scheme of forming a new University. For instance in the United Provinces they do not consider the question of forming new affiliated universities two or three at a time. They develop firstly and then form a separate type of unitary university, just as in the case of the Benares University, the Lucknow University and the Aligarh University. In all those cases it has not been a matter of first passing the Act and then trying to develop the centre. I can quite understand the position now taken if there was no provision in the present Madras University Act for recognizing particular places There is provision in the present Act and I do not see what object is served by a Bill of this kind. After all nothing useful is going to be done. The hon the Minister spoke of technological institutes.

"What stands in the way of a technological institute being located at Vizagapatam? Is there any difficulty in doing that under the Madras University Act? I do not find any. We have already a training college at Rajahn undry and an engineering college and a medical school at Vizagaptam which are of the same standard as those at Madras. When all these institutions come up to the required standard and when they are able to look after themselves, then it will be time to think of a separate university. After all, what is the money that is likely to be available from the Local Government for these higher education purposes? I certainly will object if very large sums are going to be spent on higher education and if adequate provision is not made for elementary

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education. What is the progress made in the development or expansion of elementary education during the last five or six years? My hon. Friend the Minister is silent on that point. I cannot say that the progress has been very satisfactory. The money given is very little, and the number of boys brought in has not increased to the extent to which we can increase them if we have more funds. Such being the case, will we be justified in allotting large sums for higher education. That being the case, how much are you going to give for the Madras University and how much are you going to allot for the new university? This university is a costly thing; you have to provide for huge buildings, big laboratories and things like that. Where is the money to come from? We have not got anything like a decent laboratory attached to the Madras University at the present time. I do not think sufficient provision has been made in the University itself for post-graduate courses.

"That being the case, how will you be able to find funds in the near future for a second university? All that will be done is to put up a few buildings for offices; some sort of education will go on as we used to have in the Madras University. Is it what our Andhra friends want? Even the little funds that will be available for technological studies will be taken away for the buildings, appointment of a vice chancellor on a high salary, for the appointment of a registrar and so on. If that is all that they want, the little sum that is going to be allotted for higher education being diverted for these unnecessary and ornamental purposes, I certainly have no objection to their having it. But if they want better facilities for education, if they want progress in their own areas, I do submit that this Bill is not going to give that.

"There is another aspect also which we will have to consider. The hon. the Minister says that after the Madras University Act was passed, we have a university in Mysore and there is a university in Travancore Quite true. I can well understand the rosition of these States. Each State wants to be responsible for education within its own boundaries and it wants to make provision for that. That is quite natural. But here we have got the Madras University which supplies the needs of the Telugus, the Tamils, the Malayalees and the Kanarese people. The other day, Sir, when we were talking about the Palghat College, I remember one or two friends saying that they were not anxious to go ard join the Travancore University. That will show, Sir, the opinion held by some people. . ."

* The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. Patro:—'They wanted a Kerala University."

*Rao Bahadur T. A. RAMALINGA CHETTIYAR:—"I said 'one or two members'; I leave it to the hon. Minister to see whether it is really a contradiction.

"The Telugus and the Tamils are now together, and I have no idea whether there is the same enthusiasm among the Telugus at the present moment for a separate Andhra province as there existed before. In the old days we used to have resolutions after resolutions asking for a separate Andhra province, and one of the arguments was an argument which is found in the Statement of Objects and Reasons here, namely, that the representation of the Telugu country on the authorities of the Madras University was not

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such as would satisfy the Andhras. I presume that was one of the arguments, probably the main argument, they had for the creation of an Andhra province in those days. Now that the majority of places on these authorities are secured for the Andhras, I suppose they are not so keen about the matter, as they used to be in those days. At any rate, at the present moment, we do not find the same enthusiasm, the same demand coming from the Andhradesa for a separate Andhra province.

"Are the people of Andhradesa prepared for these changes, to have, so far as educational matters are concerned, two different controls and two different arrangements, where the standards may differ, where the facilities they may have may differ and everything else may differ? Are they going to have two separate things and place themselves in a position of superiority or inferiority as the ease may be? It is a matter which they will have to consider.

"So for all these reasons, I beg to submit that this University Bill is not a satisfactory Bill; it is not wanted by the Andhra friends themselves; it is not likely to lelp them in any way; so for these reasons I cannot give my support to the Bill."

The House adjourned for lunch,

After Lunch (2-30 p.m.)

* Rai Bahadur T. M. NARASIMHACHARIU: - "Mr. President, I cordially congratulate, if I may, the hone the Minister for Education in trying to secure another university for this Presidency on a linguistic basis. I also congratulate him, Sir, on the broad principles which have been enunciated in this Bill for the advancement of learning frothe Andhradesa. These principles have been detailed at length by my hon. Friend from Bellary, Mr. Siva Rao, I need not go over the same ground again. At the same time I feel it my duty, Sir, as one of the representatives of the Cuddapah district to place before the hon. Minister certain points which I hope he will, with his fame for fairness and broad-mindedness, try to give effect to in prosecuting the further progress of this Bill. One respect in which this Bill may be justified in including the Ceded districts in its sphere of operation is the language, the Telugu language. I think, Sir, in all other respects, the Ceded districts and the Northern Circars have no resemblance to each other. Now, my first point is that even with regard to this Telugu language, the little knowledge of Telugu that I possess enables me to say that the Telugu language of the Ceded districts is quite different from the Telugu language of the Northern Circars. Though some of the best Telugu poets have been born in the Cuddapah district near Ontimettai, on this point there is a great divergence of opinion between the Andhras of the Northern Circars and the Andhras of the Ceded districts. Therefore, Sir, that is the first point of disagreement between the two groups.

"Next as regards distance. Now, we are going to Madras. Whatever may be the idea as regards the location of the headquarters of this University in the mind of the hon, the Minister for Education—perhaps he might not have pitched upon Vizagapatam or Rajahmundry or Vizianagram for the purpose—I may predict with the prediction of a Brahman (laughter) that he has not any place in the Ceded districts to pitch upon as the headquarters of this University. That much is certain. Now, the question is whether the

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Ceded districts people will have greater advantage in coming to Madras or in going to Rajahmundry or Vizagapatam or Vizianagram or even a place in the Oriya country, Parlakimedi for instance.

"The next point is that in the very interest of the Ceded districts we shall rather be left out from the Bill than be included in it. It has always been the misfortune of the Ceded districts to be left in the cold and neglected both by Nature as well as by the benign Government. Nature has always been very ungenerous to our district in that it does not give sufficient rain to our district and, being at the tail end of the Madras University we have never had a first-grade college except the one at Anantapur recently established. Our education has been very backward and I attribute that to our being at the tail of the Government, and, generally, the tail is always neglected in favour of the head. Therefore, I submit, Sir, it is doubtful if it will do us any good to be tacked on to the tail of the Andhras. The Andhras might wish us to be part of them, because they want to establish the right to have an Andhra University for 12 Telugu districts. If they say that they would be content with eight Telugu districts it may not look well. I think, Sir, it creates a doubt in my mind whether the Ceded districts will fare any better by being tacked on to this Andhra University. I would rather suggest that the Ceded districts including also the Madanapalle division of the Chittoor district may be left out altogether so that we may urge our claim for a separate university. A university for five districts, a residential university of a unitary type or an affiliated type for five districts would not make a large demand on the purse of the Government. Therefore my point is that as we are neglected and as we will be neglected, we want that we should be separated from the Andhra University. In making our request our wish is that a separate university may be established for the Ceded districts so that better attention may be paid and better education may be given to these unfortunate people who are now very very backward."

Mr. C. RAMALINGA REDDI:—"You can go to the proposed Tirupati University."

Rai Bahadur T. M. NARASIMHACHARLU:—"It is a separate national university to promote oriental learning. Therefore, Sir, I submit that the Ceded districts may be left out altogether.

"Sir, I wish to know why the Andhras of the Northern Circars and of Nellore and Chittoor should be very solicitous and very desirous to have us at all. When we say we do not want to go with them, why should they drag us along with them? (Laughter.) Now, Sir, I am reminded of what our governing classes say: India is governed for the sake of the people and for their good and that if the Government were to go away we will all be beheaded by one another and India will disappear altogether. These people say just like that. I request our Andhra friends to leave us. We do not want an Andhra University."

Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddi:- "Is my hon. Friend an Andhra or not?"

Rai Bahadur T. M. Narasimhacharlu:—"Well, Sir, I am as much an Andhra as my hon. Friend from Chittoor (hear, hear) but I am an Andhra of the Ceded districts. It has nothing in common with the Andhras of the Northern Circars. I am unable to follow the ordinary conversation among the Andhras. They drawl out their sentences (laughter). Their intonation is quite different from ours and they may perhaps not be able to understand

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our Telugu (laughter). Both are Telugu no doubt. (A voice: Which is better Telugu?) Certainly, ours (laughter) because the greatest of the Andhra poets was born in Cuddapah. Therefore, I submit, Sir, that when we do not like to come to the Andhra University, I wish to know the reason why they should be so very solicitous about our being made part of their university. Why not be satisfied with an Andhra University for the eight districts? I wish that a proper answer is given to it. The only answer that will be given to it is: 'For your benefit we want you to come.' That is all very well. We would rather be left out. After we are divorced from the Madras University and before we seek remarriage with the Andhra University, what do they want? They want a dowry. What is that dowry? It is the payment of Rs. 7,500 from each of the district boards and Rs. 1,500 from each of the municipalities. Further, this dowry is not a fixed sum paid once for all. It is a perennial, recurring amount once every three years. Is it an advantage for us to go out of the Madras University? We are now with the Madras University without paying anything and we are now asked to go to the Andhra University by payment of this recurring dowry. Well, Sir, will this remarriage, because we do not like it, because we are asked to pay for it, be a happy one I ask? (Laughter.) I therefore submit, Sir, that on this ground of our unwillingness to part with the Madras University-not that we are very much enamoured of the Madras University-(laughter) we should be left alone. We want a separate university for ourselves so that our education might improve, our people might improve and their civilization also might improve. This will enable them to become wealthier and more prosperous.

"We are not willing to be a tail either of this University or of the other University. We have been neglected all along; we want to assert ourselves hereafter. It is on this ground I do not like that these four districts should be included in the Andhra University scheme. I pray and I respectfully pray that the hon, the Minister for Education may leave us out."

Mr. R. VEERIAN:-" Mr. Deputy President, Sir, I do not at all feel very happy to congratulate the hon, the Minister for Education for having brought forward this Bill. The present Bill is going to help only the literate classes and not the illiterate classes. (Hear, hear.) There is a huge cry at present for educating the masses; mass education is very essential. The hon. Minister begins the reform from the top. Real reform must go from the bottom upwards. Any reform that ignores the bottom and benefits only the top cannot be called real reform. As I said before, when there is such a great need for the spread of elementary education among the masses to remove the prevalent illiteracy, more universities will be nothing but costly luxuries. The Andhra University is another white elephant. In the long run the establishment of the Andhra University will do more harm than good. (Hear, hear.) I predict that there will be unemployment among the graduates and if the graduates that are turned out of these universities are not given employment there will be confusion, misunderstanding and unrest in the country. I say this from my personal experience and one day or other this prediction will come to pass. (Hear, hear). Hon. Members may not think that I have got such a power to predict such a thing before this hon House. But if we remain here for some time more we will repent that we passed the Bill; or at least our children and great grandchildren will repent that we passed this Bill. Do you think that the graduates will remain quiet if we fail to procure appointments for them?

[Mr. R. Veerian]

The hon, the Deputy President:—"The hon. Member is not quite relevant. He wants to object to the Andhra University Bill on the ground that he thinks that money is diverted to higher education when it is necessary for mass education. He need not have referred to all this politics here. (Laughter.)"

Mr. R. Veerian:—"I shall come back to my point, Sir. I thought that the sentiments expressed by me will appeal to the hon. Members, but since I am ruled out I shall not take that line, Sir.

"The money spent on university education should be spent on elementary education to remove the illiteracy that prevails among the masses. Otherwise nothing would be gained by establishing this Andhra University and I am sure that in the long run this will produce more harm than good."

* Sriman Biswanath Das Mahasayo:—"Mr. Deputy President, Sir, I have not very much to thank the hon. Minister for his Bill but there is one element in it which excites not only my admiration but I am sure, the admiration of the people of India at large and that is this. The hon. Minister has taken one important and new step in regard to this great power-house of knowledge, this University: he has made it abundantly clear in his opening speech that the medium of instruction in this University will be the vernacular, i.e., Telugu. Such steps will give new life to the vernaculars and thus help to revive all the best things that were undone by the old controversy between the Orientalists and the Occidentalists as will be seen from the works of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Macaulay. This is a distinct step in advance towards that direction; and so far as that is concerned the Bill has my hearty sympathy and support. Also, the hon the Minister for Education has made it clear while introducing the Bill that the University will deal more with technological subjects such as engineering, etc.

"Under this Bill I find it very difficult to know what the position of the Oriya language will be. That language is spoken by about 2 million people spread over an area of 18 thousand square miles. In this respect the Kanarese-speaking people are at an advantage though they are numerically smaller than the Oriyas. They come under two distinct universities, the University of Madras and the proposed Andhra University. The Oriyas occupy a particular corner having received little or no attention either from the old University or under the new University Act of 1923. We once more go to the wall Going through clause after clause and section after section to find what representation the Oriya community will have in the new Andhra University, I was surprised to find that there was provision for only one Oriya member in the Senate of the new Andhra University In this connexion I must frankly express this, that my hon. Friend, Sir Patro who hails from Ganjam and who says that he has all sympathy for the Oriyas-of course when we once come into the Legislative Council we lose our local representative character-has not shown the necessary attention to the representation of the Oriyas in the Senate and other governing bodies of the

Madras University. I had therefore to represent the matter to the hon. Member Sir Venkataratnam Nayudu, the Vice-Chancellor of the University and asked him to see if he could do something for the Oriya-speaking people. I must frankly say that up to this time neither the Oriya language nor the Oriya community has received any attention either from the Government or from the University authorities. This being so, I am at a loss to see what the condition of the Oriya language and literature will be and how the Oriyas will be represented in the new Andhra University with its altogether new activities. I assure the House that under section 15 which provides for the election of 15 members to the Senate by the registered graduates not a single Oriya will come in. Even under any other method of representation I am sure that no Oriya will have any chance of coming in. Coming to representations based on language I am sorry to see that Oriya is given only one seat while Kanarese also is given one seat and Telugu is given two. There will be an overwhelming majority of Telugus in the twelve districts and I appreciate the feeling of the hon. the Minister for giving more representation to I'elugus than to the other languages. But may I request the hon, the Minister to remember that on a previous occasion in connexion with a previous Bill for the reorganization of the Madras University in 1923, with greatest difficulty we agreed to have one representative for the Telugus and one for the Kanarese and one for the Oriyas and so on for the five important languages of the province. I would therefore suggest to the hon, the Minister for Education that it is desirable to have more representatives for the Oriyas. Of course I am not enamoured of the Madras University or of the Andhra University, except for this new aspect of the latter, viz., the attempt to impart education through the medium of the vernacular which is a distinct step in advance. Unless some steps are taken to encourage the Oriya language and literature, I am afraid the Oriyas will go to the wall. This brings us to another thing, viz., that the Andhra University cannot have for some time to come all the progressive views and ideals of the Madras University. Under these circumstances, I think it is but fair to allow the Kanarese and Oriya population—so long as we Oriyas remain in the Madras Presidency—to have the option of studying either in the University of Madras or in the newly established Andhra University. I hope this will, to a certain extent, meet the wishes of these peoples.

"There is another objection, a very strong objection, for which a remedy will have to be found. I find only three colleges in the list of colleges to be affiliated, I mean the university colleges. Then what is to become of the other colleges? It may be that the Parlakimedi College may become a firstgrade college in a few years and what then will be its position? There is a second-grade college in Berhampur and neither now nor in the future is it proposed to be affiliated. I would request the hon, the Minister for Education and the Select Committee on the Bill to look into this aspect of the question carefully. Then again the hon, the Minister does not give us any idea as to the location of the university. I would enter a caveat with him at this stage. It is a great injustice done to the hon. Members of this House to have given them no idea about the location of the university. I believe, Sir, that unless the university is located at Vizagapatam it would not at all be appreciated by the people of the Oriya-speaking tracts. I am not unaware of the great controversy that has centred round this aspect of the question. I request the hon, the Minister for Education to face it before we send the

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Bill to the Select Committee. I do not like that such important things should be decided by the Select Committee.

"With these and other objections which certainly will be represented before the Select Committee I support the motion."

*Mr. P. Anjaneyulu:—"Sir, the cry for an Andhra University is as old as 1908. Along with it was a cry for the establishment of a separate Andhra Province. The cry for an Andhra Province was based on the idea that all provinces should be formed on a linguistic basis, but meanwhile great complications ensued in the political ideas and ideals of the country that the cry for an Andhra Province for reasons best known to the leaders and also to most of the Members of this House was merely suspended but not given up. Therefore when my brother from Coimbatore raised the question of an Andhra Province my answer was there.

"As for the Andhra University, even last year on the floor of this House many questions were put to the hon. the Minister for Education asking when he would be good enough to bring a Bill for the establishment of an Andhra University and if I remember right the hon, the Minister promised that in the nearest possible future the Bill would be forthcoming. It was only in November 1922 that he called for an informal conference of members at Vizagapatam and even then the members from the Ceded districts were not invited to the conference. There was also some trouble as to the location of the university centre which could be very easily settled. Anyhow there was an exchange of ideas and nothing came out of it. Some of us were looking forward to the day when the hon, the Minister for Education would bring forward a Bill for the establishment of an Andhra University. Neither then nor at any time was there any distinct promise that there would be a separate university for the Ceded districts, and a separate university for the Northern Circars. It may be that in this country where there are larger number of units for university life, more universities may be established, and I hope that in the fulness of time either the hon. the Minister or his successor may have to come up before us with Bills for as many universities as possible. But under the present state of things, so far as I have been able to gather from the speeches that have been delivered, I find that criticisms have been levelled against the details of the Bill and not against the principle of the Bill as a whole. One hon. Member said that certain districts should be eliminated from the purview of this Bill. It is true that the Bill requires a chiselling here and a pruning there. These are all details which can be discussed in the Select Committee more appropriately. So far as I can gauge the ideas of my friends from the Ceded districts, they were not opposed to the Bill itself if the centre of gravity of the university be shifted from Vizagapatam to somewhere nearer to them. I know there are a few friends from the Ceded districts who are not unfriendly to the idea that I am going to propose, namely, that it should be located at a central place and that we should have a technological institute. If we should have a technological institute, it should be located at a place like Vizagapatam where facilities exist for ship-building, agriculture, mining, and so forth. But, so far as other points are concerned, the question is whether it should be located at Vizagapatam or any more remarkable place. To suit the tastes of all hon. Members, I should say that the centre should be in Amaravati in the Guntur district which is on the banks of the river Kistna. It is well known that it is a very noteworthy place of Andhra culture where there was an Andhra library, a Nalanda library

[Mr. P. Anjaneyulu]

and where there are Buddhistic relics and Jain temples in a dilapidated condition. It has also another advantage, viz., that the place is very fine from the climatic point of view. It is only a small village. Now I for one am of opinion that a university should not be located in a thickly populated place. As I said, the great advantage of Amaravati being selected as the centre is that it is situated on the source of the sacred river Kistna and it has a glory of its own.

"So far as this Bill is concerned, when I first heard the name of the Bill I was ready to extend my hearty congratulations to the hon, the Minister for Education who, with the pains and assiduity which are necessary to bring forward such a measure, had brought it forward. Of course, the Bill may not be perfect in entirety, and he may have to prune it in many ways. That has to be done in the Select Committee. At this stage I only request my Andhra brethren and all those who are asking for a Kerala University and other universities to be established on a linguistic basis not to oppose this motion, because they may bring forward separate Bills for their respective areas, and there will be time enough for them to come forward with such measures.

"There is one more point which I wish to touch upon before I resume my seat, viz., whether some areas can be given the option of being affiliated to the Madras University or to the Andhra University. My hon. Friends need not trouble themselves with this small point, because when the Bill goes to the Select Committee this difficulty will be solved. With these few words I heartily support the motion."

* Rao Bahadur A. S. Krishna Rao Pantulu :—" I also rise to commend this proposition for your acceptance. I am rather surprised at the objections which have been raised just now." Alt will be remembered that this Bill has been before the country at least for the last 12 years. When a motion for the establishment of an Andhra University was made in this Council in the year 1917 by Mr. Venkatapathi Raju it was found that the idea was acceptable to almost all the sections of the House, and it was felt that if funds permitted that idea would become an accomplished fact. Again, a motion was made in the year 1920 when hopes were held out by the Government that the earliest possible opportunity would be taken for bringing out the proposal into fruition. On both these occasions the motions were withdrawn. In the year 1921, when a similar request was made the Government went so far as to appoint a committee for investigating the whole question. After the deliberations of that Committee were over, a Bill was drafted and some inquiry was made and a conference was held in Vizagapatam. During the whole process of the investigation of this question, there were no objections raised on the lines on which they have now been raised by my hon. Friends from Coimbatore and elsewhere. I should think therefore that having due regard to the support which was readily accorded to this scheme by various Members of this House from time to time and also by the Government, the idea of an Andhra University must now be far beyond the region of controversy. We were entitled to regard that there would be no objection to the establishment of the Andhra University.

"Now, coming to the objections raised by my hon. friends from Cuddapah and Bellary I should think that these ought not to be taken as serious impediments to the passing of the Bill. It will be remembered that when

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Bill to the Select Committee. I do not like that such important things should be decided by the Select Committee.

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required for such a college and also make an annual grant to theu niversity for maintaining the institution.' That is so far as the Science college is concerned. If we read section 37 of the new Bill we will find that the provision made therein regarding contributions by the Government are not quite so encouraging as we find in the present Madras University Act.

"The provision in clause 37 says, the 'University shall have a fund to which shall be credited -- (1) its income from fees, endowments and grants, if any, and (2) contributions which may be made by the Local Government on such condition as they may impose towards the development of laboratories, etc.' But the language used in the Madras University Act is to the effect that the local Government shall contribute, etc. There is an obligation imposed upon the Government according to the Madras University Act, whereas we find in the present Andhra University Bill a provision which makes it only optional on the part of the Government to make or not to make contributions for the purpose of laboratories, etc. We do not know what the intention of the framers is but the language is there. In the Madras University Act there is an obligation imposed upon the Government to make a contribution for university purposes but in clause 37 (2) of this Bill we find that it is left to the option of the Government to make or not to make contributions. Anyhow, I think these are details to be cleared up some time later.

"I would join with some of my hon. Friends who have spoken before me in thinking that there is a somewhat serious defect in the Bill, in that the question of location has not been settled. I must also join with my hon. Friend from Bellary in thinking that the hon, the Minister has fought shy of the question. He has clearly evaded the real point giving rise to controversy among the various people in the various districts. Further, it will be found and the hon. Minister himself would remember, that at a conference at Vizagapatam which met nearly two and a half years ago, when an attempt was made for the purpose of fixing the location of the university, opinions were divided; the representatives of the Ceded districts were not invited to the conference, and even among the representatives of six other districts, opinions were equally divided. What then took place was this; a motion was made which was accepted by the hon, the Minister to the effect that we should meet some time later in Madras after inviting Ceded districts' representatives and decide about the location of the university. But nothing further took place; no serious attempt was made to have a representative conference of the people for the purpose of fixing the place of the university. Again, probably in the beginning of this year and in the course of a discussion on some other subject, the question was raised as to where the university was to be located, and the hon, the Minister said that he would have a sort of informal discussion about it with the people from the various districts and decide the question of the location. But nothing further has been actually done in regard to the matter. He might have considered that it was much better to decide the question of the location during the passage of the Bill. I must say that the fears of those hon. Members who have spoken before me must be considered to be justified, unless in the further passage of the Bill we fix upon the place where it ought, to be located. It will be remembered that even in the Statement of Objects and Reasons in this Bill it is stated that ' in the past many poor students of

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the Telugu districts have been prevented from obtaining instruction in advanced arts and science courses and in professional and technical subjects owing to the great expense involved by attendance at colleges outside the limits of the Telugu country'. This was one of the reasons urged in the Statement of Objects and Reasons attached to the Bill for the establishment of the Andhra University. It will therefore be seen that one of the considerations that was kept in view for the purpose of creating the Andhra University was the long distance between Madras and the various places in the north which prevented students from coming here unless they were able to spend large sums of money. Now if that is one of the circumstances which have to be taken into consideration for the purpose of establishing the Andhra University, let us imagine whether it is reasonable to ask people to go longer distances than they do now for the purpose of education. My hon. Friend from Ganjam may say that the centre should by Vizagapatam because Ganjam is nearest to Vizagapatam. But let us consider the desirability of asking persons who are resident five or six hundred miles away from the seat of the University to go long distances for the purpose of receiving instruction. Therefore the place is an important circumstance for consideration in the matter of the new University. It is quite true that so far as the Bill goes, it only mentions three different centres where you can concentrate for the development of Universities. Clause 6 of the Bill says: 'No educational institution shall be admitted as an affiliated college unless the following conditions are complied with, namely, (a) in the case of a University College or a First-grade College, the buildings of the institution are situate in one of the following towns, namely, Vizagapatam, Rajahmundry or Anantapur, or within a radius of ten miles from the limits thereof' and then comes a proviso. When Mr. Statham's report was published, the public were given to understand that Bezwada would be one centre. I really do not know why this was dropped down. So long as Bezwada was in the minds of the public there was an impression that it might be a suitable centre because it is connected with the other sections of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway which serve the Ceded districts and that it would be a more central place for the location of the University. And there was a feeling in the minds of the public that if the centre were to be fixed in or near Bezwada or some central place, the idea would be generally acceptable. But I now find that Bezwada has been omitted and the University centres mentioned are Vizagapatam, Rajahmundry and Anancapur. While therefore I would appeal to my hon. Friends of the Council that so long as the idea of the public has been to establish a university on a linguistic basis to serve and cover a linguistic area and so long as the University is intended for the benefit of the Andhra people, it is necessary for us to push through this Bill and then to modify any of its clauses in the committee stage, I quite appreciate the feelings of my hon. Friends from the Ceded districts when they say that a far off place like Vizagapatam is not a desirable place for its location. If all the colleges are to be established at Vizagapatam, certainly it is unreasonable to expect persons from Nellore who can take advantage of the Engineering College at Guindy to go long distances for that purpose. Therefore this question is one which ought to be solved, and there is scope for its being solved in the Select Committee. Therefore, I urge that we should not oppose this Bill at this stage.

"I therefore think that notwithstanding the differences of opinion that have been expressed and the views that have been urged by my hon. Friends from the Ceded districts, it is quite desirable to push through this Bill; and if we are not in a position to agree as to a suitable place where the University is to be located, it will be open for such persons to suggest that there must be a saving clause for such districts as would be prejudicially affected thereby, to continue to remain in the old Madras University. We would be justified in asking for such a reservation clause if we cannot agree as to location. So, at this stage it is quite desirable to have the Bill introduced."

* Rao Sahib U. Rama Rao :- "Mr. President, Sir, I welcome this Bill because I am one of those who believe that every linguistic area must have a university of its own, and if to-day we are having the Andhra University Bill, I expect that in the course of a few years when a Karnataka Minister comes to handle the subject of University he will establish a Karnataka University very soon. But, Sir, in this Bill there is a misjoinder of interests. It is said in the preamble:—'Whereas it is expedient to constitute and incorporate a University in and for the Telugu districts of the Presidency of Madras.' But when 'districts' are defined we see that a 'district' means any one of the districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam, West Godavari, East Godavari, Kistna, Guntur, Nellore, Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah, Kurnool or Chittoor to which this Bill applies. And in clause 3, it is said that there shall be constituted in and for the area comprising the present districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam, West Godavari, East Godavari, Kistna, Guntur, Nellore, Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah, Kurnool and Chittoor a university by the name of the Andhra University. That itself shows that the originator of the Bill has no idea of excluding districts where there are languages other than Telugu. For instance, in Bellary, for every 10,000 of the population we have about 5,598 Kanarese-speaking people. In the same district we have only 3,151 Telugu-speaking people. This shows that Kanarese-speaking people predominate. Then again, Sir, in Anantapur for every 10,000 of the population we have got about 8,000 Telugu and a thousand Kanarese. In Ganjam for every 10,000 we have got 5,000 Telugu, 4,500 Oriya and about a thousand speaking other languages. In Chittoor for every 10,000 of the population we have got 6,400 Telugus and 2,000 and odd Tamils. That shows that with the exception of Vizagapatam, Godavari, Kistna, Guntur, and Nellore, all other districts have got other languages than Telugu. It is very unfair for these people who speak languages other than Telugu to be asked to undergo training in Telugu and to study in the schools of the Andhra University. I have now got in my hand a lot of telegrams and communications from many places. One is from a public meeting held at Hospet:- Bellary preponderatingly Kanarese. Agitate inclusion of the Andhra linguistic area and urge exclusion of Bellary.' Then, the Bellary municipality has passed a resolution in favour of the existing conditions. The Hospet municipality goes a step further and says that they should be included in the Kanarese University when it is formed. The taluk boards of Harpanahalli and Huvinhadagalli bave followed the example of the Hospet municipality. Notices of similar motions have been given in other taluk boards of that district. Public meetings at Bellary, Hospet and other places have emphatically protested against the attempts of the few Andhras of Bellary town to get it included in the Andhra University. And, Sir, there is another thing. The Karnataka Unification Committee which has got its headquarters at Dharwad and has

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also jurisdiction over the Kanarese-speaking area, has strongly protested that the Kanarese-speaking area must not be included in the Andhra University scheme. So, if the hon, the Minister who has introduced the Bill confines himself to the districts of Vizagapatam, Godavari, Kistna, Guntur, Nellore and Cuddapah, I am in hearty co-operation with him and would entirely support his Bill. But if he makes all this jumbling of languages and areas, it will be very difficult for the people who live in those areas. Then, Sir, before the University is brought into being it is much better to define the 'Telugu-speaking area', the 'Tamil-speaking area', the 'Uriya-speaking area', etc. Unless this is done, it is not possible to carry on the work very peacefully. Unless and until we have a university for every linguistic area, we cannot claim to have provinces based on the linguistic principle. So in that sense, I entirely welcome this Bill, but I hope that the hon. the Minister who has introduced this Bill will take all these facts into consideration and see that the interests of the Kanarese-speaking areas are safeguarded at least in the Select Committee. With these remarks, I support this motion.'

Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddi:—"Sir, I feel it my duty to accord my welcome to this Bill though I quite realise the force of the objections raised against it by my hon. Friend on this side, Mr. Ramalinga Chettiyar. If Mr. Ramalinga Chettiyar's contentions are held to be valid, then it would mean that no Andhra University Bill is necessary at all at the present time or probably until an Andhra province has been constituted. I am afraid he does not reckon with the sentiment of the Andhra country in this respect. For years past we have been asking for a University and we have been asking also for a province. And if the University comes before the province, they look upon it as an introduction to that other development with regard to which we have not given up our old aspirations." (Hear, hear.)

Mr. S. MUTIAYYA MUDALIYAR: -- "May we take it that you still wantit?"

Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddi:—"The hon. Member seems to think that this question has been given up. We are rather thinking that this Bill would be a thing of introduction to the other and larger measure which we are in hopes of obtaining at no distant time. Well, Sir, it is perfectly true as was urged by my hon. Friend that in some respects by the passage of this Bill we of the Telugu country would be reverting to the old time principle which the Madras University has left us as a legacy.

"The new University will have to function for a number of years as an examining university. The hon, the Minister for Education said that in this new scheme, there would not be any difference between affiliated and constituent colleges, because all the colleges will be of the affiliated character. If the colleges will be of the affiliated character, it follows that the university will be a merely examining university. In point of fact, I do not think that the hon, the Minister has stated the position very correctly either. He himself contemplates the establishment of a technological college which is to be directly managed by the University at some centre or other. When that happens, undoubtedly there will be difference between the colleges that are merely affiliated and colleges that are directly managed by the University. When you constitute a university with jurisdiction over a

large area, you must expect that there will be always some colleges outside the jurisdiction of your university, but which can be included in your university by way of affiliation. We, the members of the Andhra University Committee, pleaded strongly for a unitary university; but I suppose the hon. the Minister was confronted with the objections of Anantapur, Masulipatam, Rajahmundry and other places. When a unitary type of university is established, its affiliating side goes out and the hon. the Minister tried to meet this by what I consider to be an admirable expedient, viz., the creation of centres of concentration as a kind of middle-type between the partly affiliating type of university and the unitary type. Now, Sir, for these centres of concentration, the Bill proposed three, and there is no reason why some more should not be added in the Select Committee and properly worked. Then, the argument of distance of my hon. Friend Mr. Siva Rao falls to the ground. These will be University colleges, but whether directly under the University or not is a matter which need not trouble us. I take it that when power is taken under this Act to hand over certain colleges to the new University, your object is to hand over the Government colleges of Anantapur and Rajahmundry to the new University. When that happens what will be the result? You will have real colleges of the University, both arts and science, at Anantapur, Rajahmundry and perhaps at some other centres, I want to appeal to my hon. friends from the Ceded districts on this point. Are we really Andhras or not? If you say, we are Ceded districts Andhras, then, is there any meaning in all our agitation for an Andhra province? Is there any meaning in holding an Andhra conference? I think my hon. friend Mr. T. M. Narasimhacharlu said that the Ceded districts have a peculiarity of their own. The peculiarity of the Ceded districts we may all admit, but we may differ as regards each of the Ceded districts. He said that the greatest Telugu poet was born in the Cuddapah district. There are differences of opinion both as regards the greatness of the particular poet referred to and as regards also the place where he was born."

Rai Bahadur T. M. Narasımhacharlu:—"That is why we do not want to be with you."

Mr. C. RAMALINGA REDDI: - "If my hon, friend from the Ceded districts thinks that the Ceded districts need not be included in the Andhra University, I wish to tell him that he will be making an inroad into our agitation for a separate Andhra province with which has always been associated the desire for the reconstitution of India on a linguistic basis. We really want an Andhra province but not a Ceded districts province. That would be carrying parochialism rather too far. And further, one of my hon. Friends here told me that he would have voted for a unitary university and not for this. Well, supposing a unitary university is established, you will get both the technological and arts colleges. As regards arts colleges, you may locate them anywhere, either in places like Anantapur or in unknown tracts like Amaravathi, etc., but technological colleges can only be established in places which satisfy a large number of conditions, and I do not think the jurisdiction will be more than we can have in the Telugu country for four such institutions to be established. "Well, Sir, my hon. Friend says there are already two. Anyhow, it ought to be four, and supposing the Government establish two more institutions at any of these centres, then doubtless, there would be a complaint that other [Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddi]

centres have been disregarded. If, on the other hand, they establish technological colleges only in the places suited to them, then this difficulty of distance will remain. Wherever the university centre may be fixed, i.e., in a centre with certain specified conditions, technological students will have to go up this distance. Under the present scheme, both the arts and science students, or it may be, those who are taking Honours courses in these subjects need not travel vast distances. They need only come to Anantapur that has a dry and a more healthy atmosphere, an atmosphere of which we had a taste yesterday; or, they might go to Rajahmundry, and I am sure my hon. Friend the Minister will not grudge two more centres like Masulipatam and Vizianagram.

"Well, Sir, I wonder whether this Bill does recognize the conscience clause. The wording is not clear. It is said that religious instructions could be given to those not unwilling to receive it. I want to have a clear pronouncement whether this will apply to the affiliated institutions of the University. If he means that this will apply only to the institutions started by the University or that are under the direct management of the University, then he will as well omit it, because I do not suppose that in Government institutions religious instruction could be imparted. If, on the other hand, he means that this is a kind of application, however veiled, indirect and faint, of the principle of the conscience clause which we have been urging for, then I do hope that he will make the point clear.

"Sir, there is this difficulty that has been pointed out by my Friend Mr. Ramalinga Chettiyar, viz., that however admirable the Bill as it stands may be, it is not going at the present time to add to the substance of education available in the Andhradesa. He says, 'Under the present Madras University Act, you may have provided for you all the substantial developments you want. You are now going to spend a great deal of money on the mere farce of a university, on a syndicate and an academic council, and this will make a serious deduction in the funds available for substantive purposes.'

"I will now go into the question of the constitution of the University. What can we expect in a Bill which is going to establish a university? My hon. Friend says: first develop all the colleges and then constitute the university. That was the very argument which had to be faced when the university of Mysore was constituted; but we failed to decide that way, for, we thought there would be no motive for special expenditure unless we took a step of this kind. It may be we have not got the staff; but when we have a university, then there will be a motive on the part of the Government to provide the necessary staff. I entirely agree with my Friend Mr. T. A. Ramalinga Chettiyar in what he says with respect to the staff in the colleges, because you will be still under the difficulty of the colleges themselves working under the new Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Director of Public Instruction, etc., for whose services the Andhra University will have to pay contributions to the Madras University. They will go with prejudice and bias, all of which will affect us in the educational reform which the Andhra University may introduce. I entirely agree in this view, and I do not say that this Bill will immediately produce a university which would be to our entire satisfaction. That will not be the case until we have a province

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for ourselves and until we have a better education and better educational ideals, which only a separate province can give.

"I will also say that there is another difficulty. Probably, the teachers of these colleges will belong to the same staff and the teacher of the Andhra University of one day may be transferred to the Madras University the next day, and the teacher of the Madras University of one day may be going to the Andhra University the next day, and it may be found difficult to keep a special staff. As for the other argument, that in a great many cases, a graduate of the Madras University enjoys a higher reputation, I am not able to agree, because we have always been a part of the Madras University here. And I notice in the Bill there is a provision to the effect that until the new body has begun to function, the rules, regulations and ordinances of the Madras University shall be the rules, regulations and ordinances of the Andhra University. The Andhra University having been formed out of the Madras University, I do not know why the graduates of the Andhra University should be regarded as inferior to the graduates of the Madras University; but so far as it goes, I may emphasise this thing, namely, that we shall not be able to function fully until we have a separate province. For, these two problems are intrinsically connected. Sir, all that this Bill can give us now is the principle of an independent growth of education in the Andhra country. And certainly, it is a principle which is well worth having, even though we cannot at the present time have it in its fullest and most satisfactory measure. I quite agree that much will have to be done. I quite agree that at present we shall have nothing more than probably a thin blank paper, but let us have the blank paper to hold something to write upon. I also feel that the absence of any specific centre is not of much moment. After all, whichever centre is chosen, some other centre is bound to be dissatisfied. I stand in the fortunate position of coming from a district which is not one of the claimants for the location of the centre of the University. (A voice: Madanapalle was suggested.) Madanapalle may have a University of an international type, far superior to the Andhra University. And we may also have a university at Tirupathi-and I do not know if the hon. the Minister for Local Self-Government is not already working for it-which is likely to devote itself to oriental studies.

" As regards the representation of the different interests, let me appeal to my hon. friends. After all, we are dealing with an educational question. The centre of a university is not going to be relegated to the jurisdiction of the Survey department. It is not a thing to be judged by a mere mechanical measurement or to be weighed in a balance. Mere educational ideals must be the dominant consideration. I do not think there would be much difference of opinion when these problems are candidly faced and when it is apparent that these different centres will practically function as university colleges. What I wish to say is this: In the Madras University, some of us who were associated with it in the beginning were under the impression that we would have directly under the university post-graduate and other studies organized by the university to which college professors would be appointed. Later on, a compromise was effected and we were told that the university would function in and through the colleges and the result has been that every college professor has been called a university professor, and the university has thus converted itself, by a stroke of the pen, into a teaching university. Now, I would ask, why should that danger lurk in this

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Bill also? I really think that that danger lurks here, because I do not see there will be any institution directly managed by this University. There is a proposal that technological institutions should be started and managed by the university so far as is possible; but I may ask the hon. the Minister to go further and hand over to the new university some of these arts colleges also, so that these controversies and other things of which I spoke and which would merely militate against a proper university world being developed, would not be there, as they have disturbed us here and so that we may be building a real university life. Well, I do hope that my hon. friends on these benches will kindly look upon this question not as a merely mechanical question, as the districts concerned have each got a separate history of its own. In a country which has been under foreign rule for ages, I suppose every district and every village has got a history of its own. Let us look upon it as a people who take pride in being Andhras. It is absolutely necessary for us to have this University if we should all see to the reconstitution of the political geography of our country on a linguistic basis, which is one of the most essential reforms—a reform without which no democratic life is possible. I once again welcome this measure."

Mr. M. RATNASWAMI:—"Mr. President, Sir, I am afraid I cannot support the Bill for the reason stated in the Statement of 3-45 p.m. Objects and Reasons. But if I support the Bill it is for a totally different reason. I do not believe in the linguistic and cultural reasons urged by the hon, the Education Minister in regard to this Bill, Because I think we cannot narrow the scope and object of a university within the limits of a single language or a single culture. University culture is liberal and the narrowing of it by restricting it to a particular language and by restricting it to any particular cultural development is quite against the fundamental ideas of University teaching. Nor do I welcome it on account of the promise of technological developments. In urging his case for this Bill the hon. Minister said he hoped it would solve the problem of unemployment with which we are confronted in this country. But it seems to me that the starting of technological colleges is not the wisest way of dealing with the problem of unemployment. You must create employments first, you must create industrial occupations and then educate people for these occupations before you can hope to solve this problem of unemployment. The only way to deal with it is the mobilisation of capital and labour and the creation of new industries or industrial occupations in the country. One fact, simple as it is, I hope will induce hon. Members to think that the problem cannot be adequately solved in this way. For some time past the Madras university has been endeavouring to encourage scientific researches. There was a system of scholarships by means of which it was hoped to foster scientific education. But what has been the result? One research student after another has gone into the Indian Financial Service or into the Indian Civil Service making use of the research studentship as a kind of stepping stone to higher things. If you ask him, he will only say, 'Where are the scientific careers that we can take up and where are the technological occupations that can absorb us ?' The Education Minister in his speech called in the analogy of the Universities of Liverpool and Manchester. May I remind the hon, the Minister that Manchester and Liverpool were great centres of industries long before they were centres of University education? Technological institutions rose out of the industrial atmosphere that existed in Manchester and Liverpool. In regard to the industrial development it was stated that the hon. Minister hoped to have a mining industry in the northern districts of the Andhradesa. It would be well if the industry is first established and then the technological institutes. Therefore this is hardly the way of tackling the problem of unemployment.

"There are various other false issues that have been raised. There is the clause which describes the scope of the Bill. The defect of it is that it is comprehensive. And like most other comprehensive descriptions it is not comprehensive enough. For instance, the training of the character has been left out. If we are going to put forward employment bureaus and hostels why should you omit physical training and the training of character?

"Now, may I state the real reasons why I welcome this measure. First of all I welcome it in the interests of decentralization in education. Decentralization in educational administration is as necessary as decentralization in general administration. In fact, in educational administration you require it the more. Because, in general administration you have to deal with masses and crowds of men whereas in educational administration you have to deal with individual character. The more you do so the more possible it would be for you to act upon individual character and minds I welcome the Bill also in the interests of the Madras University. Ever since the University Act was passed, in the various vicissitudes that it has gone through during the two years since its passing, we in Madras have been trying to realize a few of the objects of the Act, i.e., the establishing of a teaching university in Madras. But we find ever and anon, whenever we propose any new plan for realising this object of establishing a teaching university in the city of Madras, that we always come up against mufassal opposition. Reference has been made to the minority vote of the mufassal exercised in the various university bodies. If any membercattends the meetings of the academic council or of the senate he would realise that it is not the case of the Madras people going against the interests of the mufassal colleges but it would be found to be a case of the mufassal people out-voting the city. I am glad therefore that as a result of this Andhra University Bill the Andhra people will have other centres for their activities and they can have other objects to apply their minds to. I take leave of the Andhra colleges not in the spirit in which the famous Shakespearean character said 'For this relief much thanks'. But it is rather in the spirit that animated a public schoolmaster when confronted by a number of awkward schoolboys who did not know how or when to take leave of him he would shake hands with them and say 'Must you go, can't you stay' and then immediately the boys would leave the room precipitately. It is in such a spirit that I say to the Andhra colleges, 'I am glad you are going and I wish you a better luck than we have had'.

"I welcome the Bill again because it provides facilities for experiment that is so necessary in educational administration. A number of experiments could be tried which you cannot try on account of the conflicting factors here. Reference has been made to the hope that Telugu will be used as a medium of instruction in the University. But I feel that for some time to come that may not be possible. But the experiment will be tried in the Andhra country and we in Madras will look forward with expectation to the results of that experiment. The Usmania University has been adduced as furnishing a hope that Telugu will be successfully used as the medium of instruction in the University. But the analogy of the Usmania University cannot be helpful

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here The use of the Urdu language is justified by the fact of the existence of an Urdu atmosphere. Almost every one in that State speaks Urdu. However the experiment of using a vernacular as the medium may be tried and it is hoped that Telugu, in spite of the existence of other languages there, might be successfully used. Let us watch the result with expectation, and I am glad the experiment is going to be tried in the Andhra country rather than in Madras.

"In regard to the development that might take place after the Bill is passed, Mr. Veerian, as usual, raised the nightmare of a prophecy that elementary education would suffer as a result of this development. May I say that elementary education requires the best teachers? I look forward to the day when elementary education will be in the hands of not a cheap, untrained teacher, a Secondary School-Leaving Certificate or a middle school man, but in the hands of University men who have received the highest culture in the country so that the foundations of education will be truly and well laid in our country.

"Again it is in the interests of liberty that I support the Bill. The Ceded districts have expressed their disinclination to join the University. But I hope it will be time enough when the Bill goes before the Select Committee to see that it is made possible for colleges that do not want to come within the scope of the Bill to be excluded. Liberty must be allowed in these cases just as they have done in the case of the Benares University and the Mysore University Certain institutions have been allowed to contract themselves out and in the case of the Andhra University as well we must allow the University to flourish under circumstances in which public opinion will be at the back of the movement. I hope and trust that the Andhra University Bill will not be worked with elements within the University who will protest continually against it. The time will come when the Ceded districts will themselves ask for inclusion. In the present circumstances, I think the cause of the Andhra University will best be served by allowing the Ceded districts to contract out of the list.

"Once more, Sir, I welcome the Bill in the interests of educational decentralization and educational freedom and because I believe that progress like liberty is well-founded when it broadens down from precedent to precedent."

The hon. the President: - "As the House has decided to adjourn at 4 p.m. to-day, do the hon. Members wish to continue the official business to-morrow?"

The hon. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar:—"I am stating for the consideration of the House that the discussion having been partially finished, it might be completed to-morrow and the other Government business, namely, supplementary grants may also be dealt with to-morrow. In effect, that means that to-morrow will also be treated as an official day. As to the non-official days, the hon. the President might ascertain the wishes of the hon. Members as to what day they want to be set apart."

Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddi:—"I think, Mr. President, once you have brought to our notice the desirability of non-official business introduced between official days, instead of being relegated to the end of a sitting. I am not saying anything with reference to the arrangement proposed for

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the next few days, but I do submit that this will also be borne in mind that it does not conduce to the satisfactory transaction of non-official business if non-official days are put at the end of the sitting."

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The hon, the President: "I am in the hands of the House. I wish to know exactly what the House wants to do. They have got two non-official days given to them by His Excellency. They can take them up now or they may take them hereafter."

Rao Bahadur C. V. S. NARASIMHA RAJU:-- "To-morrow being an official day, they can try and finish the official work, and have Monday and Tuesday as non-official days."

The hon. the President:—" It has been agreed that the Council will not sit on Saturday. The question is, supposing official business is finished to-morrow, whether the Council will sit on Monday and Tuesday and do non-official business or take two days in addition to the two days which His Excellency may normally allot for the next meeting."

Rao Bahadur C. V. S. Narasimha Raju:—"There are some non-official Bills and there is anxiety on the part of some Members to have these non-official Bills disposed of. That is the reason why they want to sit on Monday and Tuesday."

The hon. Sir C. P. RAMASWAMI ATYAR: "I take it then that if we finish Government business to-morrow, we will sit on Monday and Tuesday."

The Council adjourned at 4-5 p.m. to meet again at 11 o'clock the next day.

R. V. KRISHNA AYYAR,

Secretary to the Legislative Council.